609
[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled
[362 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucré	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

Ceresepçá	500
Cabrós	500
Imburariri	350
Macapá	360
Ucuberi	250
Cabetutum	350
Chacorão	700
Airi	300
Sacabal (Mimion)	500
Boburé	100
Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned, that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the elça or warriors' quarters.

The elça consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekra or warriors' quarters.

476 to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú.
[57] The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

421 476 It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

476 557 Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society.
554 Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. In-
[52] deed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

833 * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

and, even among the more acculturated Munduruú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Munduruú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

Munduruú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Munduruú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patrilineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Munduruú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Munduruú as a "republic."[9] The Munduruú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Munduruú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a group they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 88.

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602 619 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yẽ*) or "younger (*o kõt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapõ*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ẽ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapõ*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyẽ*) and "younger (*o kõt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u ram*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awak*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ẽ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 562 The social structure of the Mundurucú village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mundurucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

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in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century. 621

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row. 344

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present. 344 621

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized. 585

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there. 264 592

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of 592

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592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [582] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men,
476 and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens [423] were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village,
621 the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

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the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

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591
Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis [21]
of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

614
The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan owner- 422
ship of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits [776]
which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruc- 174
tion of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following para- 621
graphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[4] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today. [600]

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to [174] incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not [621] inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned [423] under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with [586] the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen [623] for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacri- [618] ficed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowl- [174] edge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special signifi- [591] cance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men [204] on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monog- [595] amy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. [422 428] There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

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adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not intergrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

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tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 554 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 202 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 701 722 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

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within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

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621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of
622 Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

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TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

I. The Problem

The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during pre-contact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare. The second were hunters of large migratory game and were losely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were related to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

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1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view. The Mundurucu of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

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problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

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Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucu until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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to the disorganization of Curuá River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Curuá River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber revenues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Curuá River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

Mu Mo 177 171 437 452

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of fur-bearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu Mo [439] Mu Mo 171 177 439 622

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

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Montagnais NH6

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Munduruú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening his ties and sociability.
Centripetal factors (e.g., savagery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B. below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue—family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo Mu 171 177 [434 623]

Munduruú during the period immediately after the Munduruú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [603]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Munduruú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Munduruú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Munduruú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Munduruú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, techniques, and organization.

Mu 177 434

The Brazilian rubber tapper—the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and connected in the mercantile economy—usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Munduruú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become <u>caboclos</u>, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 583

The acculturative factors operated in too somewhat different ways among both the Munduruú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Munduruú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Munduruú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Munduruú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Montagnais NHL

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The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucu and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

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There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 12-23].

V. Further Comparisons

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We can delimit and refine the Mundurucu-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students (cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950). It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur harvested by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the ecological effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound were closely paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 338]:

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape.

Modifications of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites' is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[4] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirim. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[5] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[4] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[5] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13*

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists
452 of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons, who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

439 The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
621 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Jurucua rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

621 Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
648 system, the local community consists of the patron and his dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tocantins states that many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate environment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and cooperation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist between the residents of each community, and all feel themselves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunting and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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the local group

The village is the locus of economic and social life among the Mundurucú of the savannahs. Remoteness from larger streams makes these communities rather isolated in today's economic and social setting, but their positions on open, grass-covered hills fitted them ideally for purposes of defense in earlier times. The men still prefer savannah life because insects are lacking and the country is considered beautiful. But of greater importance, it is strongly felt that the proper place for a "true" Mundurucú village is in this locale. As will be shown in the next chapter, the conditions of migration have imposed overwhelming economic and social obstacles to the transplanting of traditional Mundurucú communities to the banks of the Cururú River and other larger streams, but these inhibiting factors have been supported by the deep conviction

361 [621]

[p. 97]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 26. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

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but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562
the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591
but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621
household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476
to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591
discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621
mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562]
up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. 578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the 621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá 345 only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in 778 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely 534 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the
[882] occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his primary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

6

social solidarity and social fission

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●[621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dɨt nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[101] [183] [648]

[p. 126]

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SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

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Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

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especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 380 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Munduruc\u00fa for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi- [44] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens [241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 146 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Munduruc\u00fa who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together. 182 478 624 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

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canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

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and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails, other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively [594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Munduruc social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Munduruc of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

/21 cont./

241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Munduruků who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] [591] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Munduruků Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Munduruků who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

/22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
241 less the primitive or traditional form of the Munduruků agricultural
476 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance.
621 Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Munduruků/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases, which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, untenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/25 cont./

241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regarding the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the system of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/27 cont./

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361

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find tranportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

[622] When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kaduke) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.

/29 cont./

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there results the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

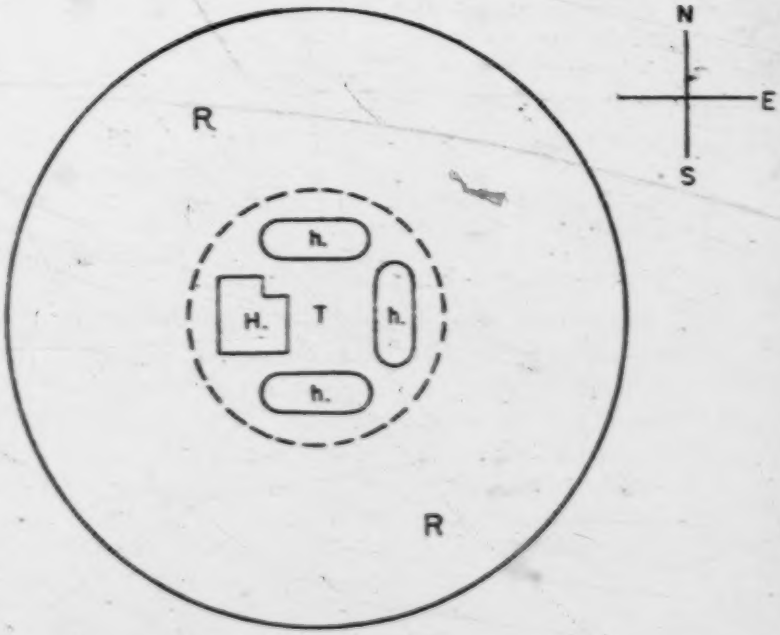

Figure 3. Plan of a Munduruku village
T: plaza; H: hoksa; h: hok-a; R: Garden plots.